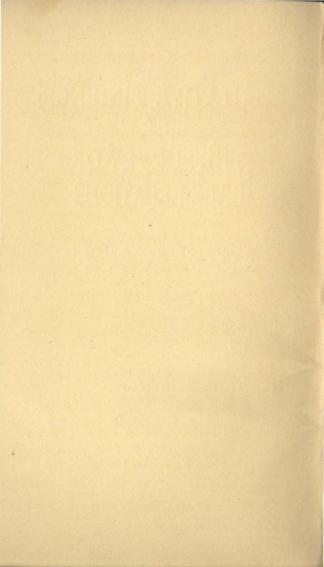


TENTATIVE FINDINGS of THE SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS

A Canadian-American Study of the Oriental on the Pacific Coast

Prepared and Presented at the
Findings Conference at Stanford University, California

March 21-26, 1925



COÖPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

THE SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS

HEADQUARTERS AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA

Central Executive Committee

RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Chairman

ALFRED I. ESBERG ROBERT E. PARK J. MERLE DAVIS REMSEN D. BIRD EMORY S. BOGARDUS RODERICK D. MCKENZIE THEODORE H. BOGGS EDWARD O. SISSON

PHILIP A. PARSONS

ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS, Executive Secretary

Research Staff

DR. ROBERT E. PARK, Research Director

EMORY S. BOGARDUS THEODORE H. BOGGS LOUIS BLOCH SAMUEL J. HOLMES BODERICK D. MCKENZIE ELIOT G. MEARS
PHILIP A. PARSONS
KENNETH A. SAUNDERS
WILLIAM C. SMITH
WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH

THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

370 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Officers

JOHN R. MOTT, Chairman

ERNEST D. BURTON RAYMOND B. FOSDICK JAMES L. BARTON KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

W. H. P. FAUNCE

GALEN M. FISHER, Executive Secretary

OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

					Page
I.	Explanatory Statement				3
II.	Preamble				5
III.	Population and Vital Sta	tis	sti	cs	6
IV.	Sickness, Poverty, and Cr.	im	e		11
	Agriculture				12
VI.	Public Opinion				18
	The Second Generation				20
	Religious Tendencies .				21
	Other Good Will Agencies				23

Copies of this report may be obtained from The Survey of Race Relations, headquarters at Stanford University, California.

TENTATIVE FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS

I. EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

The following Tentative Findings are based upon many hundreds of documents and other source materials, gathered partly by volunteer workers and agencies but chiefly by professors and students in the colleges and universities of the States of California, Oregon, and Washington and of the Province of British Columbia. These generalized statements were formulated at the Findings Conference held at Stanford

University, March 21-26, 1925.

The Findings, mainly the composite expression of our research staff present at that time, have been based also upon the simultaneous advice of a selected group of outside persons. The Research Staff was represented by Dr. Robert E. Park and Miss Winifred Raushenbush (University of Chicago), Dr. Louis Bloch (California State Bureau of Labor Statistics), Prof. S. J. Holmes (University of California), Profs. E. S. Bogardus and W. C. Smith (University of Southern California), Prof. R. D. McKenzie (University of Washington), Prof. P. A. Parsons (Portland School of Social Work), Prof. Kenneth Saunders (Pacific School of Religion), and Prof. Eliot G. Mears (Stanford University). Other assisting persons con-

nected with the Survey in attendance were: Mr. J. Merle Davis (Administrative Director of the Survey until December, 1924) and Prof. E. O. Sisson (Reed College) of the Executive Committee, Prof. R. C. Root (College of the Pacific), Mr. George Gleason of the Los Angeles Y. M. C. A. (Secretary of the Survey's former Los Angeles office), and Mr. Galen M. Fisher (Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York). Other helpful persons who were present to criticise the draft of the Tentative Findings were: President N. F. Coleman (Reed College), Dean W. F. Badé (Pacific School of Religion), Prof. W. G. Beach (Stanford University), Prof. George S. Sumner (Pomona College). Prof. C. E. Rugh (University of California), Mr. C. N. Reynolds (University of Oregon Medical School), Mr. H. M. Sinclair (University of British Columbia), Miss Ethel Richardson (Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Los Angeles), Prof. W. W. McLaren (Institute of Politics, Williamstown, Massachusetts), and Mr. Bruno Lasker (The Inquiry, New York).

At the Open Meeting on March 25, the Tentative Findings were read, section by section, by Prof. Mears, Chairman of the Committee on Coördinated Research, with interspersed discussion in charge of Prof. Park, Director of Research. There were in attendance approximately one hundred and fifty persons, including several college presidents and leaders in social, religious, educational, and business activities on the Pacific Coast. The questions and answers were so productive that certain changes, mainly of detail or expanded interpretation,

II. PREAMBLE

The purpose of this Survey has been to discover and interpret some of the chief facts about relations between Orientals and whites on the Pacific Coast. There has been no intention of formulating policies or programs. In making this study, every precaution has been taken to avoid bias. The committees directing the Survey have included men and women differing widely in their viewpoints on racial matters, but agreed upon the importance of ascertaining and making available the information, impartially and critically secured, so that there would be no excuse for quoting two sets of alleged facts with regard to any aspect of race relations covered by the study.

One of the unique achievements of the Survey is the fact that professors in the various colleges on the Coast, all the way from British Columbia to Southern California, have been enlisted so extensively in carrying on various aspects of the investigation. These teachers have been delighted to discover, in the field of race relations, an incomparable laboratory which serves both as a training ground for their advanced students and as a field of public service.

It is the firm conviction of the Committee and of the investigators that only a beginning has been made; but if, as is hoped, the foundations have been well and truly laid and the Survey is continued as it ought to be for an indefinite period, there is every reason to expect it to yield both scientific and practical results of far-reaching significance. Among the many aspects of race relations which deserve to be added as soon as

funds are available, are education, delinquency and dependency, and the psychological aspect of the Oriental birth rate.

The Tentative Findings herewith submitted are necessarily condensed general statements, but the fuller reports which will gradually be published will supply exact supporting data. With this explanation, the Findings are now presented; but both individuals and organizations are warned against accepting them as final, or of hastily building programs upon them. Some of these Findings may call for considerable revision when the data already gathered have been more fully analyzed, and when supplementary data shall have been secured. It should also be noted that the Findings do not pretend to suggest solutions, but simply to indicate the trends which seem to emerge from a preliminary analysis of the data.

III. POPULATION AND VITAL STATISTICS

- 1. A study of available official statistical data relating to the Oriental population shows that the Chinese population in the United States, and on the Pacific Coast, has been steadily decreasing since the year 1890. From 1911 to 1923, this decrease has been due to an excess of Chinese deaths over Chinese births.
- 2. The same data show that the Japanese population has been increasing but at a decreasing rate of increase since 1890. The natural increase of Japanese in California—that is, the excess of births over deaths—has been steadily decreasing since 1921, during which year the natural increase was 4,379 persons.

3. The ratio of the Chinese and Japanese to the total population in California has been steadily declining since 1900. In 1920 this ratio was 2.9; while in 1900, two decades previously, it was 3.8. However, in some counties in California the ratios of the Chinese and of the Japanese to the total population are considerably in excess of this percentage. Thus in San Joaquin County, the per cent of Chinese and Japanese to the total population was 7.7; while in Yuba

County this percentage was 34.5.

4. The frequently quoted birth rates of the Japanese are high because they are extremely crude. They do not take into account the fact that the Japanese are the youngest age group in California and that a very large number of women of marriageable age have come into the state since 1907. Moreover, these crude birth rates are based upon an estimate of Japanese population which undoubtedly is smaller than the actual number. An analysis of the official statistics of the California State Bureau of Vital Statistics shows that the birth rate of the Japanese is very nearly the same as the birth rate of the white population of the state. In 1922 the average issue per white mother was 2.63, the average issue per Japanese mother was 2.83, and the average issue per Chinese mother was 3.26.

The facts show that the reason for the apparent high birth rate among the Japanese is that few Japanese marriages are childless. Thus, in the white population of California, the number of married women per birth in 1922 was 8.0; while among the Japanese in the same year the number of married women per birth was 3.2, and

among the Chinese, 1.6. Again, the number of births per one thousand *married* women of child-bearing age among the white population of California was 125.5, among the Japanese, 317.2, among the Chinese, 621.1.

This apparent discrepancy is due, among other things, to the fact that there is a high percentage of childless marriages in the native population, and to the more youthful

ages of Japanese men and women.

5. Available and reliable corroborative statistical data indicate that somewhat over one-third of the Japanese population in California are native-born Americans.

6. Two distinct tendencies are apparent in the territorial distribution of the Chinese, since the passing of the exclusion acts in the

early eighties:

(a) There has been an increasing geographical dispersion of the Chinese throughout the country. In 1880, 83% of our Chinese population were inhabitants of the Pacific Coast states; by 1920, this figure was reduced to less than 70%. The U. S. census of 1920 records Chinese in every state.

(b) There has been a distinct tendency on the part of the Chinese toward urbanization. In 1870, possibly 90% of the agricultural labor of the State of California was performed by Chinese; while at the present time less than one per cent of this work is being performed by this racial group. In 1880, approximately eight per cent of the Chinese population of the State of Washington were residents of Seattle; but each decade since has witnessed a gradual increase in the percentage of the Chinese population of that state who have become residents of Seattle. At the present time

over 60% of the Chinese in the State of Washington are segregated within an area of a few blocks in that city.

Vocationally there has been a clear tendency on the part of the Chinese to withdraw from the competitive forms of labor and business and to enter less productive urban callings. In some of the cities, notably in border and seacoast communities, there is a pronounced tendency for an increasing number of Chinese to engage in lotteries and other disorganizing callings.

Prior to the passing of our anti-alien land legislation the Japanese had shown a distinct movement toward concentration in the small fruit and vegetable agricultural areas in British Columbia and the three American States. They had withdrawn gradually from those sections where the use of expensive and heavy machinery had been increasingly practiced. For instance, practically every wheat-growing county in the State of Washington shows a decrease in Japanese population during the past decade. On the other hand, King and Pierce counties, where the cities of Seattle and Tacoma are located, have shown marked increases in that population during this same period.

Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese, prior to the passing of the anti-alien land laws, had shown no marked tendency toward urbanization. They were the least urbanized

immigrant group in the country.

As to the future territorial and vocational distribution of the Japanese, indications up to date seem to warrant the conclusion that they will follow somewhat the same general course as that taken by the Chinese; namely, they will become gradually more and

more urban dwellers, and, due to more limited opportunities, they will in all probability be forced more and more into the relatively unproductive vocations. The exact trend will be governed largely by the opportunities in America which await the older, and especially the younger, generation.

The Japanese employed in the lumber industry in Washington have apparently reached nearly the point of saturation, judged by statistics covering a period of years which show little fluctuation. The Japanese in Washington show a decrease in the grocery business; but in laundries, dyeing establishments, and hotels, they have

held their own.

With regard to similar phenomena in California, there is indication of the same concentration of the Orientals in the cities. The movement into Los Angeles has been very heavy during the last three years. There the Japanese are opening many small business houses, buying second- and third-rate apartment houses, opening financial institutions, and even entering the professions.

Within California there has been a noticeable exodus of Japanese from the northern counties with a corresponding increase in the southern section. A few are migrating into the Mountain States and into Mexico.

In rural communities of Southern California and to an increasing degree northward, Mexicans, crossing the border in large numbers since the 1920 federal census, are stepping into the places of the Japanese who are moving into the cities. An immigration official in Imperial Valley has recently reported that for every Mexican entering the United States through immigration chan-

nels, there is one who enters illegally. From this it would appear that considerably in excess of 100,000 Mexicans are coming into the United States every year. In the State of California, about 90% of all the migratory families are Mexicans.

IV. SICKNESS, POVERTY, AND CRIME

1. The Survey has sought to investigate and discover the differing tendencies among the different Oriental peoples to social disorganization in crime; and particularly, to investigate the value of the organizations which the different Oriental communities have created to meet the difficulties and exigencies of American life.

2. The Oriental, apparently, has been of very little expense to the American community. Such records of relief agencies as have been studied indicate that the amount of relief given is very small. The extent of poverty, delinquency, and crime—insofar as dealt with by American agencies—is slight.

3. It appears that the organization of the Oriental communities, in every case, has grown up out of the necessity of meeting the strains of life under American conditions. Their organized groups have rendered a service, not only in imposing a discipline upon the members of the Oriental community but in protecting them from conflict with the larger white community outside. This has been apparently, and in the first instance, the origin of both the Chinese Six Companies and the Japanese Associations.

4. All the more intelligent immigrant groups, when subjected to prejudice, have set up similar institutions and organizations. An investigation relative to pauperism

among immigrants, made by the United States Immigration Commission in fortythree cities, covering the years 1850-1908 inclusive, showed that the proportion of native-born who received aid was very much greater than that of foreign-born. This was especially true of the more recent immigrants to the United States from southern and southeastern Europe, against whom there has been noticeable prejudice.

5. The Mexican, on the other hand, is one of the most disorderly of immigrant population and has only the most primitive organizations for mutual aid and protection. There is reason to believe that the rapid increase of the Mexican population is likely to increase vastly the amount of disease, crime, and poverty; and thus to enhance the cost to the community of this immigration over and above the economic value of the Mexican population as a source of labor.

6. A study of the health of Orientals shows that, compared with 16% of the white population, only 6% of the Chinese and Japanese population suffer from nervous diseases. Although Orientals are rarely affected with circulatory diseases, the Chinese and Japanese are far more susceptible than white people to epidemic diseases.

V. AGRICULTURE

Because of differences in soil, climate, seasons, tenancy, and in the nature of farm merchandise, no generalizations are possible regarding most agricultural products raised on the Pacific Coast. The farming situation in Victoria or Vancouver cannot be readily compared with conditions in the three Pacific Coast States. Even within the single State of California, a careful differentiation must be made between the rice fields, the orchards in the footbill counties, the berry regions, the metropolitan trucking and fruit districts, and the reclaimed lands of the desert. The problem of water is of cardinal importance, since the best agricultural lands are irrigated; and it is in these sections that the Orientals have been

large productive elements. Arid lands present not-to-be-neglected considerations which require a high degree of science and technology in order to use but not "mine" the soil, to provide a careful utilization of the available water supply so that the persons on the end of the ditch will not suffer, and to administer natural resources for the common good. Water is the great limiting factor in the Pacific Coast agriculture. The great lesson of the desert is that every farm worker must sacrifice his personal independence for the community welfare. Into this carefully organized and disciplined system the Japanese, unlike the native white, can make immediate adjustment. If proper account is taken both of the natural tendency of the Japanese to associate a plentiful application of water with good farm management, and of the soilwastage process under a one- to three-year lease, then these Oriental people are entitled to an especially high rank as agricultural producers.

Great changes have taken place in the racial composition of agricultural labor. Forty years ago over half the farm laborers in California were Chinese; while today very few of that race are left in agriculture.

In British Columbia the Chinese are the great market gardeners and supply the majority of the vegetables grown in that province. In California the Japanese have risen so rapidly from the status of laborer to tenant that at the present time they are no longer available as a large laboring class but are themselves important employers of Mexicans in Imperial Valley.

With the disappearance of the Chinese from agriculture and with the decrease of Japanese in this work, the question arises: who is to do the manual work? From all indications it appears that at least for some years to come the Mexicans will be used more and more, with the Filipinos and Porto Ricans as later and less important groups. The East Indians and the negroes

specialize in cotton.

The so-called white labor in California is, to a large extent, made up of alien peoples, notably Italians, Portuguese, Swiss, Scandinavians, and Armenians. The real economic competition in agriculture is not so much between the descendants of the white pioneers and the Orientals as it is between the later European immigrants and the Orientals. A five-months' firsthand survey in the Great Valley of California brings increasing testimony that the sons of white farmers of pioneer and later stock are leaving agriculture for business and the professions.

Most California farmers expect the future labor supply to be furnished mainly by Mexican migratory workers. Many large ranchers, who are recognized locally and nationally as worthy citizens, are seriously advancing the proposal to bring in Chinese indenture labor on a ten-year basis, men only to be admitted, in order to clear and develop lands which cannot profitably be worked without a plentiful supply of cheap labor. This proposal has its recognized, objectionable features and would require special legislation; yet it is presented here because it is being seriously entertained in a quiet fashion. A third alternative is the selection of settlers from other parts of the United States.

In California the high price of land in many sections, justified by economic, social, and climatic factors, is a deterrent element to any widespread influx of farm population. Few of the migrants from the Middle West continue as farmers. Moreover, the seasonal aspects bring about a migratory class, formerly hoboes and Orientals, but now largely Mexicans. Living conditions on the ranch or farm are in many cases unsuited to most white labor. Therefore, the supplanting of Mexican and much of the Oriental labor would require investment in living accommodations which present owners are unable or unwilling to furnish.

In the United States the Japanese are in demand as tenants and foremen because they are willing to work during all hours, their women are frequently field workers, they are willing to engage in intensive hand labor which does not appeal to the white man, and they are reliable. Because of their dependability and frugal habits, many bankers and distributors consider them superior risks; thus frequently they are enabled to borrow money easier or at a lower rate of interest. Many employers object to

the Japanese because they are not contented to remain as laborers at a low wage. As a rule the Oriental receives as high or higher compensation than the other races and they tend to become good spenders. A director of a great national farmers' organization states, "The Oriental is a commodity. He is not cheap labor, but he finishes his job." This verdict is representative.

Where expensive labor-saving machinery can be used, as in the California rice fields, neither the Japanese nor the Hindu can produce as efficiently as white workers; and in general they tend to be superseded wherever machinery can be extensively applied. The Continental system of intensive agriculture, with a large production per acre, is foreign to the American farming policy of a large production per capita—which implies extensive agriculture and the use of man-saving machinery. The future employment of Orientals as farm workers depends largely upon a substitute use of machinery or a supplanting of the back-bending and squatting industries by other crops.

Two great questions are (a) the nationality and character of future labor supply, and (b) the practical operation of the alien land laws. This special legislation, which does not permit ownership or tenancy by aliens ineligible to citizenship, was passed under psychological conditions similar to those prevailing at the time of the passing of the Volstead Act. Thus far, the Alien Land Law of California is being nullified in many localities through special unwritten arrangements; and, moreover, is being circumvented through excessive wages, gifts.

the formation of corporations, and the taking out of land in the name of a minor. Caucasian lawyers and others are acting as legal guardians until these racial Orientals

of American birth become of age.

Had there been no Alien Land Law, the Japanese would probably have acquired a great deal of rural property and as fast as they could; but, in the meantime, aliens ineligible to American citizenship would have enjoyed merely a tenant status. There is evidence already that this legislation is driving many Japanese growers off the land into the business occupations of the city: yet another change is that landowners, unwilling to see their property lie fallow, are selling outright to Japanese minors. This is producing a situation which, in the opinion of thoughtful California pioneers, is apt to mean that after a decade or so, large acreage will pass into the hands of second generation Orientals who will become capitalists, creating thereby another distinct problem. In enacting similar legislation, most Pacific and Western states are stumbling into an intricate situation which they have not taken pains to figure out.

To develop the rich agricultural lands along the Pacific Coast, more agricultural workers are necessary. In the sense that Orientals shall continue to be required because they do work that no others can perform, it is true that they are prone to engage in industries or types of labor not attractive to other elements; at the same time, under fair working conditions, non-Asiatics can perform every task undertaken now by

VI. PUBLIC OPINION

1. Since the enactment of the land laws and the federal exclusion law, the Pacific Coast has had a kindlier feeling toward its Japanese population. The Joint Immigration Committee of California, which includes the State Grange, the American Legion, the State Federation of Labor, and the Native Sons, has expressed itself as ready to see that the Japanese actually in the United States should receive fair and friendly treatment insofar as this involves no modification of existing laws.

2. The feeling on the Pacific Coast toward the Chinese has been a tolerant one for many years. During the late decades of the nineteenth century, any Chinese walking on the streets was in some danger of being molested. This is no longer the case. With a decrease in the number of the Chinese in the United States, they are no longer feared. Nor is white competition with the Chinese an issue any longer, except in British

Columbia.

3. In general the Chinese tend to be regarded in a more friendly way than the Japanese. There are many different reasons for this, chiefly because of their fewer numbers and because they are less aggressive. The Chinese stay in Chinatown, while the Japanese push out into the American residence districts. The Chinese engage in occupations in which the American does not find it profitable to compete; the Japanese enter and compete in a greater variety of occupations and businesses. The Chinese is willing to accept an inferior status and tol-

eration; the Japanese is willing to make himself irritating to the American rather than to acknowledge an inferior status.

4. There are areas on the Pacific Coast where there is considerable irritation relative to the presence of the Oriental and where there will probably continue to be such irritation. In Florin, California, where there are more Japanese than American children in the schools and where the standard of living of the Japanese is low, the status of the Japanese is inferior and his presence is resented. In Fresno, California, on the other hand, where the Oriental population is small and where the Armenians are disliked, there are very tolerable relations between the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Americans, Hood River, Oregon; Fairfax and Auburn, Washington; and Livingston, California, are smaller communities where mutual relations between the Orientals and the Americans are reasonably satisfactory. Portland, Oregon, unlike the other great Coast cities, does not consider that it has an Oriental problem at all. As the seasonal labor in the salmon and canning industry is now supplied largely from Seattle instead of from Portland, the less desirable Oriental has left Portland; and such Orientals as remain belong increasingly to the well-to-do or the native-born population.

5. Especially since the passage of the antialien land laws, opposition to the Oriental centers not in the rural areas but in the cities, into which the Japanese are drifting. The retail merchant and the retail merchants' associations now tend to feel themselves in competition with the Japanese.

The business competitors, the labor unions, the small farmers, the American Legion, and the Native Sons are, for various economic and political reasons, traditionally opposed to the Oriental; while commercial firms trading with the Orient, the large employer, Americanization schools, and the Christian church are traditionally friendly to the Oriental.

VII. THE SECOND GENERATION

1. There are in the United States several thousand native-born Japanese and Chinese boys and girls who are American citizens. The Japanese are such comparatively recent arrivals that very few of their American-born children are in college or in the professions as yet. Native Americans have hardly become aware of their existence.

- 2. The American-born presents the most interesting and fascinating problem of any racial group. All the evidence goes to show that the native-born Oriental tends to acquire naturally and inevitably all the external mannerisms, sentiments, personal characteristics, and loyalties of the American community in which he grows up. This takes place frequently in the case of the Oriental in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the older generation, particularly true of the Chinese, to preserve the Oriental tradition.
- 3. The Japanese are very eager to give their children an education—if possible to send them to college. The Chinese are apparently not so eager to send their children to school solely for the sake of an education.

They wish to fit them for some occupation or career where they can earn a living. In many cases, when the Chinese cannot establish their children in businesses in this country, they send them back to China to be educated.

This tendency of the Chinese to give their children an education that will enable them to live in the homeland has appeared among the Japanese since the passage of the Exclusion Act. The American-born Japanese are attending the Japanese language schools in

larger numbers than heretofore.

4. Comparative intelligence tests on Japanese and American school children show that the Japanese children are slightly inferior, due probably to the difficulty in language. In general the Japanese are very good students. They realize that their entry into the professions, certainly, depends upon their being better equipped than the American student.

5. The native-born Orientals have magazines and organizations of their own. There are quite a number of these organizations; the most important of them are the student associations, the Chinese Native Sons, and the Japanese-American Loyalty League.

VIII. RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES

Among the oldest and most fruitful contacts between Americans and Orientals were those of Christian missions both in America and in the Orient. In addition to the religious or theological objectives of these activities in actual conversions, the creation of personal contacts, understanding, apprecia-

tion, and, above all, of sympathy, marked the beginning of the breakdown of strangeness and suspicion. From that time to the present, there has been a multiplication of occasions for close contact with resultant increase of sympathetic understanding and appreciation.

Not the least significant outgrowth of this situation has been the growing realization that much of the religious belief and practice of Orientals is strikingly similar to the

ideals and precepts of Christianity.

1. The Japanese in the United States are Buddhists, Shintoists, and Christians. The Chinese do not, for the most part, build churches or temples of their own, and comparatively few of them are Christians.

2. The Buddhist churches in the United States are studying and duplicating the methods of the Christian churches, largely in order to hold the native-born Japanese children who not only know English better than they do Japanese but who tend to feel more at home in a Christian than in a Buddhist church.

It appears that certain Oriental religious organizations are as much concerned as Christian groups in promoting amity. Consequently, complete amity between these religious bodies would dictate a policy of coöperation in common enterprises. Abundant evidence has been collected of the readiness of many devotees of Oriental faiths to extend this coöperation and good will.

When there is a Buddhist and a Christian element in a Japanese community, it usually appears that the Christian is more Ameri-

canized than the Buddhist element.

3. In those rural communities where the majority of the Japanese are Christians, this fact tends to decrease the sense of strangeness and to increase the contacts of the Japanese with American organizations and American life. In Livingston, California, the Japanese children who are above kindergarten age attend the American Sunday School and the American church services.

4. The conversion of an Oriental to Christianity may be a very nominal one, or it may be very profound. Where the conversion is profound, it occurs under great emotional stress and means a great deal in the life of

the individual.

IX. OTHER GOOD WILL AGENCIES

In addition to the strictly religious and missionary activities, there are numerous sources of contact productive of good will

and mutual understanding.

1. First and foremost there may be reckoned the international agencies which have
become so constructive and conspicuous
during the past decade. Aside from the
political and semi-political organizations
which have stimulated personal relationships are the Red Cross, the China and Japan
societies, the Pan-Pacific Union, the Institute of Politics, the international press services, "Asia" and other journals and news
channels. The recent development of the
conference idea has helped greatly to break
down barriers of formality and ignorance.

2. The specialized educational and social bodies have been wielding great influence in shaping public thought. Special mention

should be made of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Institute of International Education, Recreation Centers, Women's Clubs, Parent-Teachers' Associations, and public school instruction. Among the teachers of Orientals it is rare to find one who is not kindly disposed toward her or his Japanese and Chinese children and their parents. Organizations charged with Americanization programs are rendering a valuable and difficult service—always productive of good will.

3. Great hope is expressed for the cultivation of good will through the agency of international business, for the reason that personal knowledge is a prerequisite. Noteworthy progress along these lines has been attained by private business firms, chambers of commerce, foreign trade clubs, arbitration work of the racial associations and the chambers of commerce in the Orient and in the United States, including the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, all of which have great possibilities in mutual understanding.

Race relations, like other human relations, inevitably involve animosities and engender friendship. The conduct of social life, insofar as it is an art, consists in making animosities fruitful. This has taken place whenever we have been able to substitute for war competition, for competition rivalry. In this way the inevitable and natural conflicts of races become an instrument of progress and so contribute to the common

welfare.

